

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 ROME 10845

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, EGIN, IT, US
SUBJECT: ADREOTTI VISIT, PART III, OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI COMES TO WASHINGTON AS HEAD OF A MINORITY GOVERNMENT WITH A FRAGILE LEASE ON LIFE. AS A RESULT HIS PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE ALL THE PRESTIGE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REINFORCEMENT WHICH THE VISIT AND THE USG CAN PROVIDE. AT THE SAME TIME THE VISIT PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE U.S. INTERESTS, SINCE EVENTS IN ITALY CAN HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE ALLIANCE, ON EAST-WEST ISSUES AND ON THE WORLD ECONOMY. FOR MAXIMUM POLITICAL IMPACT, HOWEVER, THE VISIT SHOULD RESULT IN SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH WOULD LEND CONTENT AND CREDIBILITY TO THE OFT-ARTICULATED AIM OF STRENGTHENING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS IN PURSUIT OF US OBJECTIVES LISTED STATE 151631. TO THIS END WE SET FORTH AT THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TELEGRAM A SET OF SUGGESTIONS WHICH WE BELIEVE WARRANT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BY WASHINGTON POLICYMAKERS. END SUMMARY.

ITALIAN OBJECTIVES

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2. PRIME MINISTER ADREOTTI WILL, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON PREPARED TO PURSUE A LIMITED BUT WELL-DEFINED SET OF OBJECTIVES. IN SUMMARY, WE BELIEVE HE WILL BE SEEKING TO:

A. ENHANCE HIS OWN STATURE IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN HIS

HAND WITHIN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND, THROUGH IT, IN DOMESTIC ITALIAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS. IN ADDITION, HE WILL SEE THE VISIT AS A MEANS OF GIVING ITALY ADDED WEIGHT IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

B. REASSURE AMERICANS AND THE USG IN REGARD TO ITALIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY. HE WILL MAKE THE CASE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT, DESPITE ITS MINORITY STATUS, HAS DISPLAYED MAXIMUM POSSIBLE FIRMNESS ON BOTH FRONTS, HOLDING TO A POLICY LINE WHICH WARRANTS AMERICAN SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT. ANDREOTTI IN RETURN WILL WANT TO:

C. OBTAIN ASSURANCES FROM THE PRESIDENT AND LEADING ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS THAT THE U.S. APPRECIATES THE DIFFICULTIES AND CONSTRAINTS WITHIN WHICH ANDREOTTI IS BOUND TO OPERATE, AND SYMPATHIZES WITH THE NEED TO REACH CERTAIN ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE PCI SHORT OF FORMAL PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT.

D. ELICIT PRIVATE AND PUBLIC INDICATIONS OF A GENERALLY SYMPATHETIC AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD ANY FUTURE ITALIAN FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO ANY CALL ON THE USG FOR HELP;

E. OBTAIN FROM THE USG A POLITICAL-LEVEL COMMITMENT SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL SUPPORT FOR ITALY'S NUCLEAR ENERGY
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DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (URANIUM SUPPLIES, FUEL-CYCLE TECHNOLOGY, FINANCING). AS A MINIMUM, HE WILL WANT ASSURANCE THAT U.S. NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICY WILL NOT HINDER ITALY'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT;

F. EXPAND DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. IN THE FIELDS OF STANDARDIZATION, LICENSING ARRANGEMENT FOR DEFENSE PRODUCTION, AND MILITARY SALES, BOTH BILATERAL AND TO THIRD COUNTRIES. ANDREOTTI WILL WANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S INITIATIVES, ANNOUNCED AT LONDON NATO SUMMIT, TO INCREASE TRANS-ATLANTIC TRADE IN DEFENSE EQUIPMENT, BILATERALLY OR THROUGH THE EUROPEAN PROGRAM GROUP. HE WILL SEEK TO EXPAND ITALIAN DEFENSE SALES TO THE U.S. (VIDE THE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO SECDEF TO LOOK FOR INCREASED PROCUREMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN EUROPE), AND TO NON-NATO COUNTRIES OF A MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING IN WASHINGTON NOT ONLY AS THE EMBODIMENT OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT BUT ALSO AS A SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENT WHICH WILL ADD POINT TO THE VISIT.

G. ENGAGE THE INTEREST, AND IF POSSIBLE THE SUPPORT, OF

THE USG IN COPING WITH MALTESE PRIME MINISTER MINTOFF'S
DEMANDS FOR WESTERN GUARANTEES FOR MALTA'S SECURITY,
NEUTRALITY AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING.

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U.S. OBJECTIVES

3. GIVEN THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF THE MAN AND HIS PARTY IN
ITALY'S ENDEMIC CRISIS, IT IS IN THE U.S. INTEREST TO
ASSURE NOT ONLY THAT PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI IS WELL
RECEIVED, BUT ALSO IS WELL PERCEIVED BY THE AMERICAN
PUBLIC. (HE MAY, IN THE PROCESS, HELP REFURBISH TO
SOME EXTENT THE BATTERED IMAGE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
PARTY.) TO HELP OFFSET THE INSULARITY WHICH PRESSING
DOMESTIC PREOCCUPATIONS TEND TO ENGENDER IN THE ITALIAN
POLITICAL FIGURE, ANDREOTTI SHOULD BE MADE TO RECOGNIZE
THAT HE IS BEING RECEIVED AS A SENIOR WESTERN STATESMAN
BY THE NEW AMERICAN LEADERSHIP AND AS PARTICIPANT IN THE
"INNER CIRCLE" OF STATES ON WHICH THE PRINCIPAL
BURDENS OF THE ALLIANCE FALL. HE SHOULD RECEIVE OUR
THANKS FOR ITALIAN SUPPORT OF USG POSITIONS IN NATO,
THE UN AND OTHER MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

4. WHILE DISPLAYING A SYMPATHETIC INTEREST IN ITALY'S
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS, WE SHOULD SEE TO IT
THAT THE PRIME MINISTER RETURNS TO ITALY WITH THE FIRM
SENSE THAT THE GOI UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP MUST GIVE GREATER

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PRIORITY TO DEVELOPING THE RESOURCES--ECONOMIC, MORAL AND POLITICAL--NEEDED FOR BROAD DOMESTIC REFORM AND FOR SUSTAINING THE ITALIAN SHARE OF THE BURDEN IN THE ALLIANCE.

POSITION RECOMMENDATIONS ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS

5. U.S. POLICY TOWARD PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

IN HIS PRESENTATION ON THE ITALIAN INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, ANDREOTTI CAN BE EXPECTED TO SEEK U.S. UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLICIT APPROVAL OF THE NEED FOR THE DC TO ENTER INTO PRAGMATIC ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE PCI IN THE "GOVERNING AREA". IN THIS CONTEXT WE RECOMMEND THAT THE PRESIDENT PRIVATELY MAKE A STRONG STATEMENT OF OUR FIRM PREFERENCE THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT. ANDREOTTI SHOULD LEAVE WASHINGTON WITH THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT ALTHOUGH WE WILL NOT INTERFERE IN ITALY'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, MUCH LESS IN ITS ELECTORAL PROCESS, WE ARE NOT INDIFFERENT AND IN FACT STRONGLY PREFER NO PCI PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. AS WE STRESS IN A SEPARATE BIOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE PRIME MINISTER, THIS POINT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT SINCE ANDREOTTI'S AMBITION AND PRAGMATISM MAKE HIM ONE OF THE SOFTEST DC LEADERS ON THE COMMUNIST ISSUE.

6. CSCE

WE SUGGEST THAT THE PRESIDENT AND/OR THE SECRETARY REITERATE OUR CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TOWARDS THE FORTH-COMING BELGRADE CONFERENCE TO REVIEW COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND TO EXPRESS OUR HOPE THAT THE ALLIES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO ENSURE ITS SUCCESS.

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GIVEN CERTAIN SIGNS OF SOFTNESS IN THE ITALIAN POSITION -- E.G., SOME RESPONSIVENESS TO SOVIET APPROACHES ON NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- THE PRESIDENT OR SECRETARY OF STATE MIGHT WISH TO ENCOURAGE THE ITALISN TO RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO SEEK EASY COMPROMISES TO AVOID ENDANGERING THE DETENTE PROCESS. THE THESIS THAT A CONTINUATION OF THE DETENTE PROCESS WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A LARGER MEASURE OF HUMAN FREEDOMS IN EASTERN EUROPE HAS BEEN GAINING FAVOR IN ITALY, AND WE CAN BE SURE THAT THE LEFT IN ITALY WILL BE PRESSURING THE GOI'S REPRESENTATIVES AT BELGRADE TO

TREAD SOFTLY.

7. NATO SUMMIT INITIATIVES AND RECIPROCAL DEFENSE PROCUREMENT

THE PRIME MINISTER'S DESIRE TO CONCLUDE A MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON RECIPROCAL DEFENSE PROCUREMENT (ROME 10376) SHOULD BE WELCOMED AS A PROMPT RESPONSE (IN A BILATERAL SENSE) TO THE PRESIDENT'S INVITATION AT LONDON TO GIVE MORE CONTENT TO THE TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON IMPROVED COOPERATION IN THE DEFENSE EQUIPMENT FIELD. IN ADDITION, WE SUGGEST THAT WASHINGTON OFFICIALS ENCOURAGE ANDREOTTI TO EXERCISE MORE VIGOROUSLY ITALY'S CURRENT POSITION AS EPG CHAIRMAN TO INCREASE EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN DEFENSE PRODUCTION IN HOPES OF LEADING TO EARLY TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE AND JOINT N. AMERICAN-EUROPEAN EXAMINATION OF WAYS TO IMPROVE

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COOPERATION IN DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. WE SHOULD ALSO INDICATE OUR EXPECTATION THAT ITALY WILL GIVE US ITS ACTIVE SUPPORT ON THE OTHER PRESIDENTIAL SUMMIT INITIATIVES: THE EAST-WEST STUDY AND THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM. SECDEF MAY WISH TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE OPENING OF ADDITIONAL ITALIAN PORTS TO NUCLEAR-POWERED VESSELS OF THE SIXTH FLEET.

AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IMPRESS ON ANDREOTTI

THE STRONG USG HOPE THAT ITALY WILL DO ITS FULL SHARE OF MEETING THE NATO GOAL OF 3 PERCENT REAL INCREASE IN DEFENSE BUDGETS AND THAT IT WILL SUPPORT AWACS PROCUREMENT, EVEN ON A NOMINAL BASIS, AND A HIGHER LEVEL OF INFRA-STRUCTURE FINANCING.

SHOULD THE PROPOSED MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON DEFENSE PROCUREMENT BE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL, EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT ANDREOTTI BE LEFT WITH NO ROSEATE MIS-CONCEPTIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE NON-NATO THIRD COUNTRY SALES (E.G., TO LIBYA). PRESIDENTIAL POLICY ON CON-
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VENTIONAL ARMS, AND CONGRESSIONAL VIES ON SALES TO THE LIKES OF QADAFI, SHOULD ADD ELEMENT OF GREATER REALISM TO ITALIAN THINKING ON ARMS SALES ABROAD. CONVERSELY, HOWEVER, ITALIANS SHOULD BE REASSURED THAT THE ADMINIS-TRATION'S INTENT RE INCREASED USG ARMS PROCUREMENT IN EUROPE WILL BE HONORED, AND THAT WE ANTICIPATE ITALIAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT WILL BE CONSIDERED.

8. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY SHOULD ENCOURAGE ITALY TO PERSIST IN ITS EFFORT TO RESTORE THE ITALIAN ECONOMY TO A STABLE GROWTH PATH. IN ORDER FOR ITALY TO ACHIEVE EXPORT GROWTH, REVIVAL OF INVEST-MENT AND INCREASED EMPLOYMENT, THE BUDGET DEFICIT AND LABOR COSTS PROBLEMS MUST BE FORCEFULLY DEALT WITH. SPECIFICALLY, THERE MUST BE: (1) AN IMPROVEMENT IN CONTROL OVER PUBLIC SPENDING, (2) BETTER TAX COLLECTION, (3) LIMITATIONS ON THE GROWTH OF UNIT LABOR COSTS AND (4) SOME BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL MARKET REFORMS.

9. ENERGY

THE USG WILL WANT TO GAIN ANDREOTTI'S UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF U.S. ENERGY POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN THE NUCLEAR AREA. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY IMPRESS ON ANDREOTTI THE VALIDITY AND THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S OWN EFFORTS, OF THE PROSPECTS FOR CONCRETE RESULTS, AND OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS WE CAN MAKE TO THEIR NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT.

10. FOREIGN INVESTMENT

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WE BELIEVE THAT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, APART FROM PROVIDING BENEFITS TO THE U.S., HAS A USEFUL ROLE TO PLAY IN CONTRIBUTING TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE ITALIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION. U.S. INVESTMENT IN ITALY FOR THE MOST PART DATES BACK TO THE 1950'S AND 1960'S. EXISTING INVESTMENT AND PROSPECTS FOR ATTRACTING FUTURE INVESTMENT HAVE BEEN HAMPERED NOT ONLY BY THE UNFAVORABLE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION BUT ALSO BY OCCASIONAL QUESTIONABLE ACTIONS TAKEN BY LOCAL AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES. ACCORDINLY, WE SHOULD TRY TO IMPRESS UPON ANDREOTTI AND HIS ADVISORS THE NECESSITY TO AVOID SUCH IMPEDIMENTS TO INVESTMENT AND, MORE GENERALLY, TO IMPROVE THE INVESTMENT CLIMATE.

11. TIME PERMITTING, THE PRIME MINISTER OR HIS PARTY WOULD BE INTERESTED IN EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY, CYPRUS, THE AEGEAN DISPUTE, LEBANON, EGYPT AND THE USSR, THE HORN, LIBYA, YUGOSLAVIA POST-TITO, SPANISH DEMOCRACY, AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPECIFIC ACTIONS, WHICH COULD BE PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED

12. TO ACHIEVE MAXIMUM BENEFIT FROM ANDREOTTI VISIT, WE SUGGEST THAT THE VISIT CULMINATE IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SPECIFIC INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO TRANSLATE THE NORMAL RHETORIC OF FRIENDSHIP AND COLLABORATION INTO CONCRETE ACTION. WE BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING, IN ADDITION TO THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ON RECIPROCAL DEFENSE PROCUREMENT (PARA. 7 ABOVE), ARE ATTAINABLE, EVEN GIVEN THE LIMITED TIME PRIOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S ARRIVAL. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT, IN EACH CASE, AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WOULD SUFFICE; IMPLEMENTING DETAILS COULD BE DEVELOPED AFTER THE VISIT.

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A. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO INCREASE MUTUAL COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY, BOTH IN BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL CHANNELS. IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, WE SHOULD BE SPECIFIC IN SUCH AREAS AS ASSURANCE OF URANIUM SUPPLY, ENERGY CONSERVATION TECHNIQUES, DEVELOPMENT OF SOLAR, GEOTHERMAL, AND BIOCONVERSION ENERGY TECHNOLOGY, SITING, SAFETY AND ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS OF NUCLEAR PLANTS, AND TECHNICAL AID AND FINANCING OF NUCLEAR POWER DEVELOPMENT.

B. AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE ACTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES TO INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY AND SCOPE OF TAX COLLECTION, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON ADVANCED TECHNIQUES OF TAX ENFORCEMENT, INCLUDING USE OF COMPUTERS AND MATHEMATICAL MODELLING. (FYI: OUR OFFER OF ASSISTANCE SHOULD INCLUDE SOME IRS TRAINING OF ITALIAN OFFICIALS.)

C. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO SEEK ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR AN EXPANDED CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM.

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IN PROMOTION OF SCHOLARSHIP EXCHANGE, IN ADDITION TO ONGOING PROGRAMS JOINTLY SUPPORTED VIA THE BINATIONAL COMMISSION (FULBRIGHT" GRANTS), A SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED PROGRAM WILL BE PLANNED, WHICH WOULD USE RESOURCES FROM BOTH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL EXPLORE ON THEIR RESPECTIVE SIDES THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING PRIVATELY-SOURCED, CONCESSIONAL FINANCING TO COVER LOANS FOR ITALIAN AND AMERICAN EXCHANGE STUDENTS, PERHAPS VIA PRIVATE BANK CONSORTIA. A MAJOR ITALIAN EXHIBIT, "POMPEI A.D. 79", WILL BE SHOWN IN SEVERAL AMERICAN MUSEUMS, BEGINNING MARCH 1978. IN SYMBOLIC RECIPROCATION FOR THE LA SCALA OPERA COMPANY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES ON THE OCCASION OF AMERICA'S BICENTENNIAL, ONE OF AMERICA'S PRINCIPAL ORCHESTRAS (PERHAPS THE CHICAGO SYMPHONY) WILL PERFORM DURING 1978 TO CELEBRATE LA SCALA'S OWN BICENTENNIAL.

AN ADDITIONAL PROGRAM, WHICH FOR POLITICAL REASONS WE WOULD NOT INCLUDE IN THE COMMUNIQUE BUT WHICH SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS, WOULD BE U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ITALIAN EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS WELL AS UNIVERSITIES.

ATMOSPHERICS

13. MANY OF THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS RELATE TO PROBLEM AREAS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS AND ARE THEREFORE CRITICAL IN TONE AND, TAKEN ALONE, TEND TO PRESENT AN UNBALANCED PICTURE. WE SHOULD THEREFORE BEAR IN MIND THAT THE PROBLEM AREAS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE RELATIVELY FEW AND THAT THERE ARE NO DISAGREEMENTS ON SECRET

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ISSUES OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER POSITIVE FACTORS SUCH AS ANDREOTTI'S DEFT POLITICAL PERFORMANCE SO FAR; THE COURAGE AND DRIVE SHOWN IN OBTAINING AN IMF VOTE OF CONFIDENCE, EVEN IF CONDITIONAL; THE ATTACHMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS REVEALED IN THE ADMISSION OF SOVIET JEWS FOR PROCESSING AND ONWARD MOVEMENT TO THE U.S.; DIRECT, PROMPT, AND EFFECTIVE INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF THE USG AND U.S. CITIZENS IN ERITREA AND ANGOLA; CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. ON IMPORTANT ISSUES IN THE UN, NATO AND ELSEWHERE; AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST, THE CONTINUED PROVISION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF IMPORTANT MILITARY BASES AND FACILITIES AND COMPLIANCE WITH MOST OF OUR MILITARY OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS DESPITE AN ADVERSE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONTEXT. GARDNER

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